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ABSTRACT

Conference participants examined the attitudes toward human rights which led to the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, as compared to today's perceptions of the meaning of human rights. Using Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" as a point of departure--freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship in his own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear--the participants examined the declaration to ascertain its applicability to today's world situation. Factors in today's world situations which might change the picture were examined. For example, there is a new balance between national sovereignty and global concerns. But new tensions are created by many problems such as over-population, hunger, and the effects of industrialization. To deal with these issues will require some important changes in 30-year-old perceptions in the field of human rights. A second major aspect of today's human rights picture is the public attention brought to this issue by the Reagan administration. There are many questions in the public mind regarding the U.S. stance vis-a-vis human rights, such as, Are we trying to impose our views on human rights on others' domestic policies? (Author/RM)

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HUMAN RIGHTS: 1948-1978 -- CHANGING PERCEPTIONS

A Wingspread Conference on Human Rights

commemorating

The 30th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

convened by

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace

in cooperation with

The Johnson Foundation

December 1978

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This report has been prepared by the Chairman of the Conference, Louis B. Sohn, based upon notes taken by the Rapporteur, Curtis Roosevelt.

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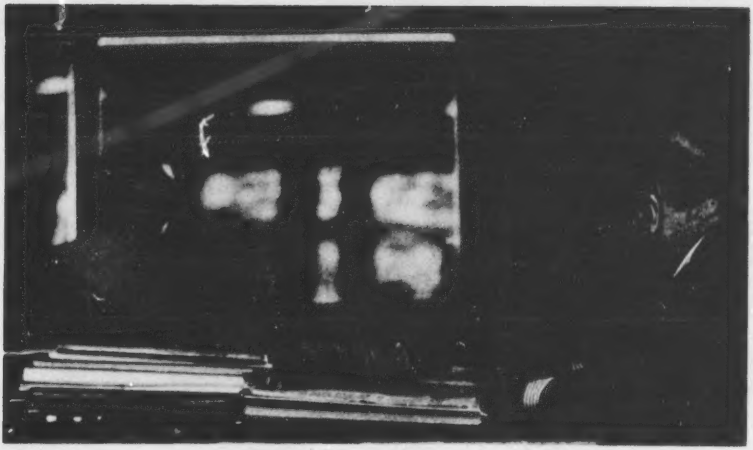

Curtis Roosevelt
Senior Liaison Officer
United Nations

Louis B. Sohn, Chairman
Commission to Study the
Organization of Peace

"No matter how much his life will be changed in invention and discovery, man will continue to want from this world freedom, social justice, economic and political security..."

From the first report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace-1940

PREFACE

Human Rights: 1948-1978 - Changing Perceptions In Thirty Years

Taking into consideration the changes in human rights concepts and approaches over 30 years, the Kingspread Conference examined the attitudes toward human rights which led to the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, as compared to today's perceptions of the meaning of human rights.

A good deal of the 1948 thinking was Western in character and some of it was based on Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms Message to the United States Congress of January 6, 1941, when he stated:

> "In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms.
>
> "The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.
>
> "The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.
>
> "The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.
>
> "The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- everywhere in the world."

Using those "Four Freedoms" as a point of departure, the Wingspread Conference examined the Declaration to ascertain its applicability to today's world situation. What factors in today's world situation change the picture? There is a new balance between national sovereignty and global concerns. But new tensions are created by over-population, our need for food, the increasing stress both in developed and in developing countries on economic rights over political and civil rights, the rising influence in our daily life of science and technology and the effects of industrialization, and the growing attention to the rights of various parts of the population, such as women, young and old persons, indigenous peoples, etc. To deal with these issues will require some important changes in 30-year-old perceptions in the field of human rights. What, in turn, will be the effect of these changes on the universal protection of human rights?

A second major aspect of today's human rights picture is the public attention brought to this issue by the present Administration in Washington. There are questions in the public mind regarding the United States' stance vis-a-vis human rights. Are we trying to impose our views on human rights on others' domestic policies? Should we use an economic weapon against nations whose policies differ from ours? Does the United States look to other nations as a moralistic country preaching what it does not practice in all instances? How realistic is it to apply human rights considerations in the exercise of our national foreign policy?

These searching questions were in the forefront of consideration at the Wingspread Conference on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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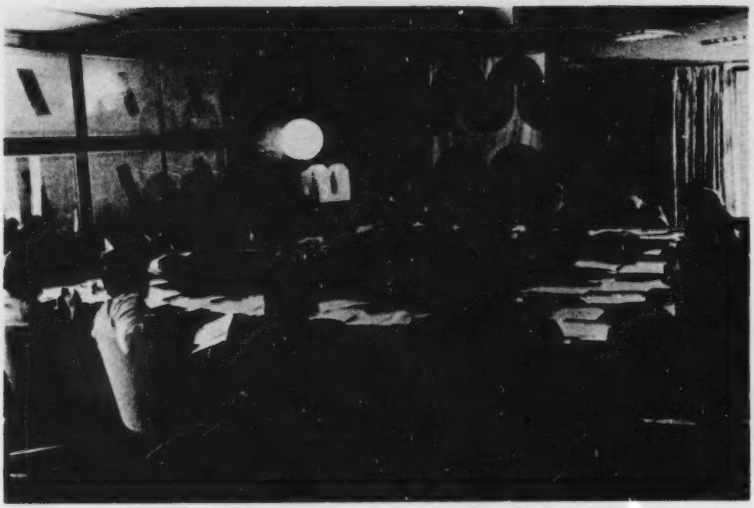


Participants at the Wingspread Conference Table

Introduction

Using as a point of departure the "Four Freedoms" first proclaimed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in his Message to the United States Congress on 6 January 1941 (Annex A), the Wingspread Conference reviewed the changes in human rights concepts and approaches which have occurred during the thirty years since the United Nations General Assembly passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948 (Annex C). In turn, it examined freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. In connection with the freedom from want the Conference took also into account President Roosevelt's second message to Congress on human rights, of 11 January 1944, which contained the "Economic Bill of Rights" (Annex B).

The four freedoms were examined "in the setting of the United States in the world community." These freedoms are, of course, only a part of a broader picture. Though there is still disagreement on various aspects of the international protection of human rights, the very concept of "human rights," not recognized on the international plane before 1939, is now generally accepted. It is also generally agreed that human rights are a matter of international concern. On the other hand there is less consensus on the means to be used to implement them. Even some of the nations which have ratified the major instruments on human rights still contend that any international condemnation of their human rights violations constitutes illegal interference with their domestic affairs; and they strongly object to any effective means of supervising their human rights performance.

One can appreciate our thirty-year progress only in historical perspective, when we realize the differences between then and now. While in the 1940's people still felt deeply about the horrors of World War II and the crime of genocide, in later years the threat of an atomic war and the need for detente became major concerns. Many groups became more worried about national security than human rights; the question of human survival became more important to them than individual human rights. The ever-present thought of the growing danger of a nuclear disaster casts a pall over humanitarian ideas.

In addition, there is considerable tension between what might be desirable internationally and what was affordable, politically speaking, within the United States. The question was asked, for instance, how much are the citizens of the United States willing to sacrifice for human rights, not only at home but in the world? How can a consensus be built between international protection of human rights and more immediate concerns of nations and individuals?

Several participants stressed the interrelationship among civil and political rights, on the one hand, and social and cultural rights, on the other hand. It was noted that of the four freedoms two were "ideological" and the other two related to "basic needs." Concern was expressed that the American preoccupation with civil and political rights often overshadowed more humanitarian objectives -- taking care of hundreds of thousands of refugees, providing assistance to starving millions, or persuading the business community to respond to human needs in countries where a large share of its profits originates. But the issue was raised -- if economic and social rights are so important, what sacrifices are people willing to make for them? What is the trade-off? Who will pay for these rights? Are human rights being sidetracked in the United Nations by the developing countries and

their concern for development? (This was a theme which recurred over and over again, particularly in relation to the third and fourth freedoms when they were considered.)

Some Wingspread Conference participants stressed institutional relationships, others preferred concentration on substantive issues; some emphasized "international legislation," others advocated better means of implementation, e.g. treating human rights violations as international crimes. There was also considerable interest in the role to be played by various media in educating the general public, and in the need to make human rights come alive in the educational system, particularly for pre-college and undergraduate students. It was generally recognized that a new situation has arisen due to President Carter's personal interest in enhancing human rights throughout the world, and his determination to make human rights "the soul of our foreign policy."

The First Freedom: Freedom of Speech and Expression

The discussion of this freedom first centered on the right to receive information across national frontiers and the recent UNESCO Declaration on Mass Media and the Freedom of Information (Annex D). According to some participants, the UNESCO resolution, as written, "was gobbledygook." It was suggested that if it is ignored, it might "go away like many other UN resolutions have." Others thought that we might do better by emphasizing the resolution's positive points rather than being alarmed over it. It was noted, in particular, that, in order to understand the original intentions of its "Second and Third World" sponsors, it was necessary to look more closely at the first draft of this document. The sponsorship by the Second World (the Eastern European countries) of a restrictive resolution can be taken for granted, but the real problem was the intense feeling in the Third World that their means of communication, and their press, radio and television, were dominated by Western mass media and that they were threatened by a "cultural take-over" by Western culture utilizing such new technological developments as satellites capable of direct transmission to private receivers. Nevertheless in the final drafting cooler heads prevailed and some balance was restored. It was pointed out in particular that paragraph 1 of Article II reflected as follows this more moderate approach:

> "The exercise of freedom of opinion, expression and information, recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is a vital factor in the strengthening of peace and international understanding."

It was suggested that the UNESCO Declaration can actually be useful in view of UNESCO's own process for reviewing human rights violations that fall within its competence. The procedure developed by UNESCO in other fields can be applied also to freedom of information, and both individuals and organizations might be permitted to bring complaints to the Executive Board of UNESCO.

The question was raised of how credible Western delegates are when they pretend to speak on behalf of mankind on some basic issues, and at the same time from a more parochial point of view on other issues in which their governments have particular stakes. The difference between these two stances, while not unrealistic, is sometimes lost upon delegates of the developing countries, and the defense of special Western interests in some instances persuades Third World delegates that they cannot expect anything neutral or objective from a Western delegate; that, on the contrary, no matter what the issue is, everything a Western delegate says expresses as much self-interest as can be expected from any other, supposedly less neutral delegate. They ask whether Western delegates really believe that they can be "objective" on some issues? For example, when a Western delegate speaks on behalf of freedom of the press, does he or she not realize that the speech is indirectly supporting the commercial interests of transnational corporations. Is this Third World delegates' cynicism misplaced? How can more objectivity be promoted?

Turning to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, one Wingspread participant noted the U. S. reservation to Article IV of that convention, which provides for the punishment of persons and organizations promoting and inciting racial discrimination; he pointed out that Western European countries have a quite different view on this subject. The point was made also that

there is considerable difference in the consideration of ethics even among Western democracies. While some emphasized that in the final analysis there always is a particular ethical standard applicable in all circumstances, others, while not disputing that point directly, noted the consistent complexity of certain issues.

Comparing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the Covenants, the great clarity of the Declaration was pointed out. There were, however, difficulties with respect to the Covenants, not so much in defining the rights as in outlining the restrictions. The omnipresent danger was that the restrictions may end up being so broad that the effect of reasonably defining a particular right might be completely nullified. It is in the interpretation of the restrictions that one gets into a host of problems, and it is the emphasis on these restrictions that has enabled some totalitarian States to ratify the Covenants. To prevent these interpretations from getting out of hand and destroying the usefulness of even having standards, appropriate third-party interpretation methods are needed.

A question was raised about the concern of developing countries with Western mass media because mass media may expose some unsavory practices of their Governments and may rock their regimes. In addition, some developing country representatives fear that mass media produce expectations among their people that are totally unrealistic, causing undue internal dissension, and leading people to respond favorably to anyone who promises them "the good life."

The Wingspread group was informed that World Press Freedom Committee was formed to work with developing countries. This organization is financed by newspaper owners and more than one million dollars was raised for it.

One Wingspread participants then characterized four types of governmental regimes. One - communist, two - socialist (Fabian), three - democratic, and four - rightist

totalitarian. The conception of human rights was different in each, and one could argue whether the far left or the far right is more totalitarian. A distinction was also made between a totalitarian regime (implying complete control) and an authoritarian regime (where some freedoms are left).

Another participant spoke about the "perceptual gap" between the Western developed countries and the developing countries regarding human rights standards. While Westerners rely heavily on the written word, as embodied in the Universal Declaration, others emphasize the perception of human rights by the majority of mankind. If economic and social objectives are considered by such majority as the most important priority, and political and civil rights are considered secondary or somewhat esoteric, this particular perception will influence the standards for human rights. This reality had to be faced when discussing standards, regardless of the question of whose perception was better, more accurate or more sophisticated. It was noted also that a United Nations seminar on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was not endorsed because it was considered to be a Western document, formulated at a time when developing country representatives were few, that they had participated very little in the formulation of the Universal Declaration and that therefore the Declaration did not represent the thinking of developing countries.

As far as the freedom of information was concerned, even in the West it was in fact diminishing due to economic factors, particularly labor costs. In the United States today people have less access to the press than in previous years due to the diminishing number of media outlets, for example, the fewer number of daily newspapers in New York City and other major cities.

Several Wingspread participants spoke of the need, even in the West, for more varied sources of information and less

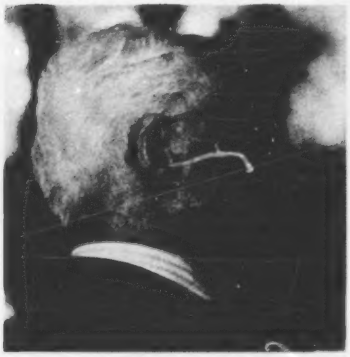
predigested material. Out of conflicting ideas and the necessity of making choices among them, people widen their perceptions and are able to grow in their capacity to see long-range interests.

There seemed to be a real question of why freedom of dissemination of information was so important. Why is it of the first priority? How might it be compared to freedom from want? Can there be a linkage between the two? Is it not true that lack of reliable, objective information in many cases is a "want"?

The discussion turned to institutions which would foster human rights and carry out mandates in this area. Is it possible that the United Nations could become an independent source, a neutral source, of "balanced" news which might perhaps be trusted to the same degree as the International Committee of the Red Cross is trusted in its area of work? The answer depends on who controls it, how credible the institutional mechanism would be and whether a truly international staff could be developed. Some participants were pessimistic over the possibility of a United Nations High Commissioner for Freedom of Information, but the view was expressed that the chairman of UNESCO's Commission on Communication could play this role.

Mention was made again of the idea of "cultural take-over" and that, while this was obviously a danger, it did not necessarily need to be the case. An example was the excellent work done by the BBC in giving technical assistance to Nigeria. A participant explained the BBC's idea of news, its concept of a "balanced presentation," noting that they work very hard on retaining their balance and that their standards for objectivity are implicit. In contrast to this was the "American approach" where it is presumed that the open clash of competing ideas (a free-for-all) is preferable, thus allowing people to develop their own opinions.

It was suggested that there should be a follow-up meeting on the private sector's role in ensuring that options and choices would be provided by the mass media. One participant said that a study of the role of the private sector would show that in the long run, its contribution to freedom of speech and expression is an important factor in economic and social development. It was suggested that means be found to lay great stress on freedom of the media as an integral part of freedom of association. Without freedom of information, it would be difficult to form associations and to achieve their aims. One participant noted that the essence of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution is really the permission and right to communicate with other people, to associate with them and to assemble.



Bruno V. Bitker

Benjamin B. Ferencz

The Second Freedom: Freedom of Every Person to Worship God in His Own Way

Turning to the question of freedom to worship, it was noted that religious freedom very much depended upon communications and that without this capacity, religious freedom would suffer very greatly.

One participant felt there was a sharp decline in the influence of major religious institutions, such as the Curia in Rome, the World Council of Churches in Geneva and national church bodies in Western developed countries. He thought they were becoming passe. But another participant noted the high level of controversy on religious issues of practical importance, such as the right to life movement and abortion. There was then a general discussion on the formulation of public policy and the role of organized religion in placing public issues in a religious context. The question was asked whether religious groups are in fact really influential on one side or another of public policy issues, even those that touch upon or are very much religious subjects.

It was noted, however, that black groups were particularly unhappy with the established Christian churches and often formed their own groups outside these denominations. The example of young people's strong interest in Eastern religions was another indication, at least indirectly, of declining influence, or even, in a particular sense, "irrelevance" of the present major established religious institutions in the West.

One participant speculated that there was a substantial difference between viewing the problems as a conflict between the State and the church or as one relating to the role of religion in society. While the United States has

endorsed the pluralistic concept of a multireligious, tolerant society, in other parts of the world the State asserts control over the church, directly or indirectly.

In the post-industrial society, especially the United States and other Western European countries, perhaps institutional religious support is no longer needed. Their people have already internalized religious values into their society, and need to be freed of institutional restraints. Returning to the concept of "the perceptual gap" between the developed and developing countries, one participant said that belief in God, as used in the second of the four freedoms, is indeed a Western perception, and it would have to undergo quite a bit of reinterpretation if it was going to be understood and utilized as a legal and ethical standard or a framework for such standards in the rest of the world. In an emerging society, religion plays an important role as an expression of self-esteem and, as in East Africa, it can become a mushrooming force. Once, however, the religious groups mature, they are less dynamic and start losing ground. In Latin America the church acts as a rallying point for political action and is no longer linked with the preservation of the feudalistic "establishment."

The conversation at Wingspread then returned to the United Nation's work on religious freedom. It was noted that the United Nations chose to put more emphasis on religious discrimination than religious intolerance. At present, its Commission on Human Rights is working, quite slowly, on a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief. While the documents on racial discrimination were quickly completed, those relating to religious intolerance have been languishing, with only a few paragraphs drafted each year.

Some Wingspread conferees preferred to rely on Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which guarantees

freedom of thought, conscience and religion. According to that Declaration this freedom includes "freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." It was pointed out, however, that Article 29(2) subjects these freedoms to important limitations, not only to protect the rights of others, but also to meet "the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

It was then asked whether it would be more productive to develop a document on religious intolerance through a private conference of a representative character, a small group of perhaps twenty people representing the major religious groups. Perhaps they should begin by reviewing the Universal Declaration on Human Rights to ascertain what might be considered the parochial "Western" elements within it. It was alleged that the Universal Declaration represents consensus drawn from Judaic-Christian values, but that a broader global consensus is needed to be drawn from a wider cultural base. It was pointed out, however, that regardless of the fact that only few representatives from the Third World participated in the work on the Universal Declaration, that document nevertheless has become truly universal. At the same time, it was noted that at a recent Christian Peace Conference meeting in Eastern Europe, at which there was a fairly large number of delegates from Third World countries, they objected to mentioning the Universal Declaration because they considered it a Western document from a conceptual point of view. Somewhat in desperation, it was asked if there can be any consensus, even on such issues as torture. In spite of seeing these dilemmas clearly, there was no doubt one must strive for a meaningful participation of persons from the developing countries, as well as persons who could present the conceptual framework of the other major religions of the world.

Such a private conference might be able to clarify at least the character and scope of the "conceptual difference." Is it to a major extent a question of language, using the words and the symbols which are more familiar to the Third World, or which are more acceptable because they have developed as their "language" in the discussions at international forums such as the United Nations? Is it not the same pattern as is exercised in the rebellions against "the establishment" within affluent societies, where the young people search for new ways of religious expression?

In an historical perspective, it was suggested that if one looks deeply enough there will probably be shared values that are basic for peoples from every part of the globe, arising from the very nature of interpersonal relations. It was added, however, that any discussion usually becomes influenced by the history of the West's colonial domination which produced separate conceptual frameworks for the respective minds on both sides: on the one hand, the old colonial mind-set, including the guilt derived from its attitude towards "the natives," and on the other hand, an inferiority complex resulting in over-sensitivity, fear of renewal of domination, under a different guise, and other "hang-ups" due to lack of economic development. There is also a basic difference in the way of thinking between the East and the West. Considering the dimensions of the problem, one should have no illusions about the nature of the task and how difficult it would be to achieve any satisfactory outcome. Nevertheless it was agreed that the possibility of a preliminary conference along these lines should be explored. It might lead to a larger conference to be held abroad, preferably under the auspices of a non-Christian religion.

The Third Freedom: Freedom from Want

It was noted at the start that there is a misconception that the economic, social and cultural rights are an invention of socialist countries or of the Third World. It would be more correct to trace their origin to the New Deal philosophy in the United States, and to President Roosevelt's strong feeling that nazism and other forms of global totalitarianism can be stopped only by drastic economic and social reforms throughout the world. He was thinking about freedom from want "everywhere in the world." In his 1944 Message to Congress concerning an Economic Bill of Rights (reproduced in Annex B), President Roosevelt spelled out the rights he had in mind, pointing out: that "true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence"; that "people who are hungry and out of job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made"; and that in "our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident." While this message was primarily directed to a domestic audience, it had a worldwide impact and was not forgotten when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was being drafted.

It is also forgotten that the major purpose of the Marshall Plan and the United States foreign aid programs, especially of the food for peace program, has been to promote the enjoyment of economic and social rights by the people of the countries aided, and to help them achieve freedrom from want. These rights are, therefore, in the American tradition, and have become an important part of our post-war foreign policy.

Reviewing the historical perspective, one participant noted how Britain and France in their economic development had forced savings out of their population to finance their

countries' industrial development, that the USSR had also tried to do this and that China is currently trying to follow the same pattern. In the European countries many human rights had been by-passed or delayed until industrialization was achieved. The United States had a slightly more laissez faire approach, relying on foreign investments but not re-paying them as the borrowing companies collapsed and went into bankruptcy. Luckily enough, refinancing followed as investors believed in the growth of the country. It appears now that the less developed countries do not want to go through the suffering of nineteenth century Europe, and are looking for a less painful process of development. The point is that if one looks at the relationship between economic development and human rights in an historical framework, one becomes more tolerant of the situation in the Third World. Other Wingspread participants questioned this historical analysis.

The notion of "human rights beginning with breakfast" was then presented. It was said that people often do not care very much about freedom of expression or association when they haven't got enough to eat. This simple reality was often forgotten during more intellectual conversations.

The discussion then turned to the impact of foreign investments on human rights. Some thought that the United States was more interested in the security of investments than in human rights. Many investors found it easier to work in the totalitarian system than in a more diffuse, less controlled environment. They often claim that important changes in a nation's infrastructure can be achieved only by a strong government, and that long-range investments have to be abandoned quite often when weak governments change continuously and there is no coherent economic program. Developing countries also argue that civil and political rights are a luxury which they cannot afford, and that they

need to go through a transition period during which economic development must have priority over human rights.

It was also pointed out that in many developing countries, economic development benefits mostly the urban elite and provides arms for the military, enabling them to control the rural population which does not participate at all in the process of development. The question was then posed as to whether one should concentrate on such transfers of resources and technology, including supporting projects, which would result in better distribution of income, even if at the same time they would have to ignore the level of human rights within the developing countries concerned. Would it make a difference? Is there any evidence that from a functional point of view there is any correlation between civil and political rights and economic and social rights. Would the improvement in economic and social rights really result in greater political freedom?

A participant suggested that you could not really separate economic, social and political rights and to do so would always lead you into trouble. To separate freedom from want and freedom from fear from political and civil rights was unrealistic. It leads to academic distinctions that isolate human rights. For one participant, economic and social rights were very different from cultural rights, although she acknowledged a link. Examples were given where "cultural rights" were violated as a result of an effort to improve the economic and social situation. It was noted that too often the representatives of Western countries, when discussing human rights issues, try to restrict themselves to civil and political rights, ignoring the economic and social rights. The discussion should not really be taking place in the traditional setting of thirty years ago for human rights. Nor should it necessarily take place within the rhetoric of the new international economic order. If approached

creatively, necessarily breaking new ground, the tension between the two concepts of human rights can provide great potential for coping with today's dilemma.

The point was then made that freedom from want is very much a concern of the United States government, both domestically and internationally. It was said that the people of the United States are concerned with pockets of poverty in their own country, although the current tension is between investment in social programs and the fight to keep inflation down. But how much are the American people ready to make the investment necessary to cope with "freedom from want" in the developing countries? Are they as ready to deal with a drop of prices of copper in Zambia as with the price of wheat produced by Nebraska farmers?

In this connection, one participant asked whether human rights should be considered when one is dealing with the price of a basic commodity, such as copper, and that commodity is the economic lifeline of a country, such as it is in Chile or Zambia? From the point of view of economic and social rights, commodity agreements and trade preferences have become more important than foreign investment. Economic and social rights, as well as civil and political rights, should not be discussed in the vacuum.

Reacting to this, another participant contended that this type of argument would dilute further the basic concept of human rights and would muddy the picture immensely. Following that line, another participant opposed the intrusion of considerations based on "inter-state economic relationships" into the discipline related to human rights, as the discipline developed over the years, for the traditional basis for discussion of the subject is complex enough and should not be broadened to include extraneous subjects. While in some circumstances prices of commodities can indirectly affect human rights, high prices of oil have not helped the people of Iran and high prices of coffee have not

diminished the suffering of the people of Uganda.

Others thought that there are several links, both positive and negative, between inter-state economic relations and human rights. For instance, the question was asked whether it is not a violation of human rights if aid is cut off from a country because of the poor human rights conditions in that country? It was noted, for example, that the World Bank is supposed to consider only the economics of the situation and ignore human rights conditions. Is this not more realistic when considering aid programs? But some thought that the Carter Administration's opposite stance on this issue was a step forward for human rights. The more general question was also raised whether crude international sanctions, which affect innocent people as well as guilty ones, promote human rights? The right of the people to eat should not depend on the system of government, and food aid should never be denied.

In the end, there was indeed no agreement among the Wingspread participants on the divergent views between a priority for civil and political rights versus a priority for economic and social rights. But there was strong agreement that a conference with representatives of countries of the Third World is needed to come to grips with this basic issue. Those who deal with poverty issues in the United States should also be invited.

The Fourth Freedom: Freedom from Fear

In opening the discussion on freedom from fear it was noted that this freedom brings us face to face with nothing less than our survival. Since 1945 we have been living under a nuclear cloud, and a good part of the world's population has never known a time without the threat of a thermonuclear war. The young people of the world have accepted fatalistically that at any moment somebody might press a button, leading inexhorably to the annihilation of life on earth. To some nations freedom from fear (or right to peace) is more important than all the other human rights combined. This is in particular the attitude of the Soviet Union, whose leaders still belong to the generation which during World War II suffered the loss of 20 million lives, a fact often forgotten in the United States. We more often hear of the six million people lost in the Holocaust and understand the reaction of Jews to the memory of that horror, but we lose sight of the continuing reaction of the Russians to a loss of 20 million lives and their genuine fear of another war.

The question was then asked if it would violate "the discipline of human rights" (referred to earlier) if one were to insert the "right to peace" in the debate on disarmament and to remove it from the discussions on human rights. Is this a genuine and legitimate compartmentalization or is it not in fact just a "division of labor"?

Several participants noted today's new elements, the new "winds of war" such as terrorism and "wars of freedom," all of which add new dimensions to the discussion of armaments. For one participant, there was today less fear of a Third World War, but far more fear of, and concern about, national liberation wars, border wars, and acts of terrorism. There is also latent fear of destructive acts against large centers

of civilian population, such as the poisoning of a city's water supply, the use of bacteriological weapons or the causing of nuclear accidents. It was noted, however, that we have learned to live with fear, especially the threat of atomic warfare, but it was also said that we do not really know what real effect these fears have on us, and to what extent they are the reason for the alienation of the younger generation.

It was also noted that freedom from fear has domestic implications. In many big cities people are scared about their safety; such crimes as murder, rape and pillage are rapidly increasing and local police are not very helpful. It was pointed out that, as Secretary of State Stettinius explained at San Francisco in 1945, the United States conception of freedom from fear encompassed also "the protection from persecution or discrimination of all men and women, regardless of race, language, religion or sex, and the protection of their equal right to enjoy all other fundamental rights and freedoms."

The discussion then turned to the "peace issue" as it has been developed by non-governmental organizations associated with communist countries. It was noted that to some extent developing countries were picking up the peace issue and that it was indeed "gripping the world." It was suggested that the United States very much needed to develop its own position on the peace issue, and perhaps this should be done in cooperation with other Western powers. Some of the smaller Western European countries, such as the Netherlands and the Nordic countries, which have developed a more positive attitude toward the "peace issue," can provide guidance to the major powers on this question. The people of the United States are a part of the world, and for them also this is a critical issue. The United States should stop skirting it merely because its formulation has come from the

Eastern European countries, particularly from the Soviet Union. "Peace" and "peaceniks" have unfortunately had some bad connotations in this country, being associated with the attacks on this country by the Soviet Union and with the alienation of our own young people during the Vietnam years. At the same time, it was noted that a peace movement can be dangerous as the aggressor may think that there will be no resistance. It was also pointed out that the relationship between human rights and freedom from fear has an impact on disarmament negotiations; if the Soviet Union were a free society, the United States would have a less fearful attitude toward an agreement with the Soviet Union.

Turning then to broader issues, it was pointed out that freedom from fear should not be restricted to the issue of disarmament or reduction of armaments as President Roosevelt seemed to confirm it in his speech on the Four Freedoms. His inaugural address in 1933 was recalled and the ringing phrase that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Examples were given of the effect upon us, individually and collectively, of fear that paralyzes us, that inhibits our action, our thinking. Such fear causes us to lose our sense of identity and makes it impossible for us to relate to other people--economically and socially as well as politically. The fact was noted also that a high level of fear in other persons was likely to motivate their hostile acts towards us and that, therefore, we have indeed a strong self-interest in their freedom from fear.

The people of the Third World will suffer greatly from a nuclear war between the major powers, and they have the right to be protected against it. Consequently, they are indignant that the major powers are keeping them out of the most important arms control negotiations. This adds another important element to their list of grievances against developed countries.

Conclusion

The Wingspread discussion concluded with a strong plea for an integration of the Four Freedoms and the development of a better public understanding of the relationship among them. In particular, further thought needs to be given to the problem of how to promote dialogue between the developed countries and developing countries on the Four Freedoms, especially on the increasing linkage between the social and economic concerns of the developing countries and the Western desire to press for advancement in all aspects of human rights.

Richard Gary, Sandra Vogelgesang

Jeri Laber

Judith Torney, Thomas Franck

Photographs in this Wingspread Report by Arthur P. Haas

Annex A. THE FOUR FREEDOMS

Annual Message of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Congress, January 6, 1941. Reprinted from 3 Documents on American Foreign Policy, (1940-41), pp. 26-41.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented," because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

. . . . . .

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I find it necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere — many times over.

. . . . . .

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion — or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

. . . . . .

That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility — and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily — almost exclusively — to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellow-men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

. . . . . .

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency — as serious as war itself — demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

. . . . . .

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor — anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception — the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change — in a perpetual peaceful revolution — a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions — without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE
January 6, 1941.

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Annex B. AN ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS

Message from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 11 January 1944. Reprinted from Congressional Record, House, 11 January 1944, pp. 55-57.

To the Congress of the United States:

This Nation in the past 2 years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But we do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

. . . . . .

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, Italy, and Japan, unquestioned military control over disturbers of the peace is as necessary among nations as it is among citizens in a community. And an equally basic essential to peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

. . . . . .

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people—whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth—is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not freemen." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won, we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

. . . . . .

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort we speak of the factory and the field and the mine as well as of the battleground—we speak of the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour—to keep this Nation great—to make this Nation greater in a better world.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 11, 1944.*

Annex C. DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Approved by Resolution 217A (III) of the General Assembly, 10 December 1948. GAOR, III.1, Resolutions (A/810), pp. 71-7.

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

ARTICLE 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11.—1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13.—1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14.—1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15.—1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16.—1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17.—1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20.—1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and assocation.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21.—1. Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23.—1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25.—1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26.—1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27.—1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29.—1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Annex D. UNESCO DECLARATION ON MASS MEDIA

DECLARATION ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MASS MEDIA TO STRENGTHENING PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, TO THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO COUNTERING RACIALISM, APARTHEID AND INCITEMENT TO WAR

Adopted by acclamation
on 22 November 1978
at the Twentieth Session
of the General Conference
of Unesco held in Paris

Preamble

The General Conference,

Recalling that by virtue of its Constitution the purpose of Unesco is to 'contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms' (Art. I, 1), and that to realize this purpose the Organization will strive 'to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image' (Art. I, 2),

Further recalling that under the Constitution the Member States of Unesco, 'believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives' (sixth preambular paragraph),

Recalling the purposes and principles of the United Nations, as specified in its Charter,

Recalling the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 and particularly Article 19 thereof, which provides that 'everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom

frontiers'; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966, Article 19 of which proclaims the same principles and Article 20 of which condemns incitement to war, the advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred and any form of discrimination, hostility or violence.

Recalling Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965, and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1973, whereby the States acceding to these Conventions undertook to adopt immediate and positive measures designed to eradicate all incitement to, or acts of, racial discrimination, and agreed to prevent any encouragement of the crime of apartheid and similar segregationist policies or their manifestations,

Recalling the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965,

Recalling the declarations and resolutions adopted by the various organs of the United Nations concerning the establishment of a new international economic order and the role Unesco is called upon to play in this respect,

Recalling the Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation, adopted by the General Conference of Unesco in 1966,

Recalling Resolution 59(I) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in 1946 and declaring:

'Freedom of information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated;

. . . . . .

Freedom of information requires as an indispensable element the willingness and capacity to employ its privileges without abuse. It requires as a basic discipline the moral obligation to seek the facts without prejudice and to spread knowledge without malicious intent;

. . . . . .',

Recalling Resolution 110(II) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, adopted in 1947, condemning all forms of propaganda

which are designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression,

Recalling resolution 127(II), also adopted by the General Assembly in 1947, which invites Member States to take measures, within the limits of constitutional procedures, to combat the diffusion of false or distorted reports likely to injure friendly relations between States, as well as the other resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the mass media and their contribution to strengthening peace, trust and friendly relations among States,

Recalling resolution 9.12 adopted by the General Conference of Unesco in 1968, reiterating Unesco's objective to help to eradicate colonialism and racialism, and resolution 12.1 adopted by the General Conference in 1976, which proclaims that colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism in all its forms and manifestations are incompatible with the fundamental aims of Unesco,

Recalling resolution 4.301 adopted in 1970 by the General Conference of Unesco on the contribution of the information media to furthering international understanding and co-operation in the interests of peace and human welfare, and to countering propaganda on behalf of war, racialism, apartheid and hatred among nations, and *aware* of the fundamental contribution that mass media can make to the realizations of these objectives,

Recalling the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its twentieth session,

Conscious of the complexity of the problems of information in modern society, of the diversity of solutions which have been offered to them, as evidenced in particular by the consideration given to them within Unesco, and of the legitimate desire of all parties concerned that their aspirations, points of view and cultural identity be taken into due consideration,

Conscious of the aspirations of the developing countries for the establishment of a new, more just and more effective world information and communication order,

Proclaims on this twenty-eighth day of November 1978 this Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War.

Article I

The strengthening of peace and international understanding, the promotion of human rights and the countering of racialism, apartheid and incitement to war demand a free flow and a wider and better balanced dissemination of information. To this end, the mass media have a leading contribution to make. This contribution will be the more effective to the extent that the information reflects the different aspects of the subject dealt with.

Article II

1. The exercise of freedom of opinion, expression and information, recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is a vital factor in the strengthening of peace and international understanding.
2. Access by the public to information should be guaranteed by the diversity of the sources and means of information available to it, thus enabling each individual to check the accuracy of facts and to appraise events objectively. To this end, journalists must have freedom to report and the fullest possible facilities of access to information. Similarly, it is important that the mass media be responsive to concerns of peoples and individuals, thus promoting the participation of the public in the elaboration of information.
3. With a view to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to promoting human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war, the mass media throughout the world, by reason of their role, contribute to promoting human rights, in particular by giving expression to oppressed peoples who struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation and all forms of racial discrimination and oppression and who are unable to make their voices heard within their own territories.
4. If the mass media are to be in a position to promote the principles of this Declaration in their activities, it is essential that journalists and other agents of the mass media, in their own country or abroad, be assured of protection guaranteeing them the best conditions for the exercise of their profession.

Article III

1. The mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war.
2. In countering aggressive war, racialism, apartheid and other violations of human rights which are *inter alia* spawned by prejudice and ignorance, the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples, to make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, religion or nationality and to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases, thereby promoting the formulation by States of the policies best able to promote the reduction of international tension and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes.

Article IV

The mass media have an essential part to play in the education of young people in a spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and understanding, in order to promote human rights, equality of rights as between all human beings and all nations, and economic and social progress. Equally, they have an important role to play in making known the views and aspirations of the younger generation.

Article V

In order to respect freedom of opinion, expression and information and in order that information may reflect all points of view, it is important that the points of view presented by those who consider that the information published or disseminated about them has seriously prejudiced their effort to strengthen peace and international understanding, to promote human rights or to counter racialism, apartheid and incitement to war be disseminated.

Article VI

For the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information, which will be conducive to the institution of a just and lasting peace and to the economic and political independence of the developing countries, it is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries, and between those countries. To this end, it is essential that their mass media should have conditions and resources enabling them to gain strength and expand, and to co-operate both among themselves and with the mass media in developed countries.

Article VII

By disseminating more widely all of the information concerning the universally accepted objectives and principles which are the bases of the resolutions adopted by the different organs of the United Nations, the mass media contribute effectively to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights, and to the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order.

Article VIII

Professional organizations, and people who participate in the professional training of journalists and other agents of the mass media and who assist them in performing their functions in a responsible manner should attach special importance to the principles of this Declaration when drawing up and ensuring application of their codes of ethics.

Article IX

In the spirit of this Declaration, it is for the international community to contribute to the creation of the conditions for a free flow and wider and more balanced dissemination of information, and of the conditions for the protection, in the exercise of their functions, of journalists and other agents of the mass media. Unesco is well placed to make a valuable contribution in this respect.

Article X

1. With due respect for constitutional provisions designed to guarantee freedom of information and for the applicable international instruments and agreements, it is indispensable to create and maintain throughout the world the conditions which make it possible for the organizations and persons professionally involved in the dissemination of information to achieve the objectives of this Declaration.
2. It is important that a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information be encouraged.
3. To this end, it is necessary that States facilitate the procurement by the mass media in the developing countries of adequate conditions and resources enabling them to gain strength and expand, and that they support co-operation by the latter both among themselves and with the mass media in developed countries.
4. Similarly, on a basis of equality of rights, mutual advantage and respect for the diversity of the cultures which go to make up the common heritage of mankind, it is essential that bilateral and multilateral exchanges of information among all States, and in particular between those which have different economic and social systems, be encouraged and developed.

Article XI

For this declaration to be fully effective it is necessary, with due respect for the legislative and administrative provisions and the other obligations of Member States, to guarantee the existence of favourable conditions for the operation of the mass media, in conformity with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and with the corresponding principles proclaimed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966.

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Wingspread Fellows are chosen by their college to participate in the program. Fellows are invited to observe Wingspread meetings relating to their respective fields of interest. The program is an effort to give broader experience and added dimension to a selected group of outstanding students in order to provide them with opportunities for improving their leadership potential in career fields, including public service.

The Convening Organizations

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace was founded in November 1939, after the outbreak of war in Europe prompted some fifty scholars and other civic leaders to create a permanent research body to consider the reorganization or replacement of the League of Nations. Many of the Commission's proposals for a new world organization were utilized in the drafting of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco thirty-four years ago.

Since late 1939, the Commission has published 25 Reports, 20 Special Recommendations, and several Occasional Statements. Many of these studies contained pioneer thinking about the crucial issues of the period -- pacific settlement of disputes, maintenance of peace and security, disarmament, and human rights. The Commission seeks always to anticipate problems that lie ahead and to develop imaginative yet realistic solutions for them. The Commission's analysis and recommendations about such new issues as the seabed, outer space, and the environment anticipated by several years the current concern of the United Nations and its Member States.

The office of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace is located at 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

The Johnson Foundation

The Johnson Foundation's interest in the international dimensions of human rights dates from the founding of the organization in 1960 when an early conference brought to

Wingspread Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, recognized as one of the authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since that time many programs to advance human rights have been carried out. A planning meeting at Wingspread charted the program for the World Assembly for Human Rights, which met in Montreal in 1968, the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration's adoption. The World Assembly, composed of human rights specialists from approximately 25 countries and from a number of international non-governmental organizations, issued the Montreal Statement; recommendations of that document were reflected in the official Declaration emanating from the United Nations Conference held in Teheran that year. Other Wingspread conferences include a 1973 meeting concerned with the rights of indigenous peoples of the North American continent, and a 1978 international Symposium organized by the United States National Commission for UNESCO for the purpose of developing educational curricula materials on international human rights.

In its continuing concern with human rights, The Johnson Foundation recognizes the long road to the goal of assuring individuals that their rights will be protected effectively.

Sidney Liskofsky, William J. Butler, Louis B. Sohn

WINGSPREAD

The building Frank Lloyd Wright called Wingspread, situated on a rolling prairie site just north of Racine, Wisconsin, was designed in 1938 as a residence for the Johnson family. In 1960, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Johnson, it became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation and began its career as an educational conference center.

In the years since, it has been the setting for many conferences and meetings dealing with subjects of regional, national, and international interest. It is the hope of the Foundation's trustees that Wingspread will take its place increasingly as a national institution devoted to the free exchange of ideas among people.

The rolling expanse of the Midwestern prairies was considered a natural setting for Wingspread. In the limitless earth the architect envisioned a freedom and movement. The name **Wingspread** was an expression of the nature of the house, reflecting aspiration through spread wings - a **symbol of soaring inspiration.**

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The Johnson Foundation encourages the examination of a variety of problems facing the Midwest, the Nation, and mankind. In the belief that responsible analyses and proposals should reach a substantial audience, The Johnson Foundation assists in the publication of various papers and reports. Publication, of course, does not imply approval.

Additional copies of this report may be obtained from The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin 53401.

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